

## Message Text

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P-POAKLEY

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P 021827Z NOV 76

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY CONAKRY PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 269615

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, PINT, US, GV, UR

SUBJECT: GUINEAN SECURITY CONCERNS

REF: CONAKRY 2039, 2189, 2065, STATE 259640, 260013, 260185,  
259639

1. DEPARTMENT HAS GIVEN CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO USG RE-  
SPONSE TO GOG DESIRE FOR SECURITY GUARANTEE AND TO SUGGES-  
TIONS CONTAINED IN CONAKRY 2189. REFERENCED STATE TELE-  
GRAMS CONTAIN CLASSIFIED RESULTS OF US INTELLIGENCE  
COMMUNITY EXAMINATION OF THREATS TO GUINEAN SECURITY FROM  
NEIGHBORING STATES IN ENGLISH TEXT ONLY; UNCLASSIFIED LONG  
VERSION OF SAME ASSESSMENT IN BOTH ENGLISH AND FRENCH TEXTS  
ATTRIBUTED TO U.S. AFRICAN SPECIALISTS RATHER THAN U.S.

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INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY AND FINALLY AN UNCLASSIFIED SHORT

VERSION OF THE SAME ASSESSMENT IN BOTH FRENCH AND ENGLISH TEXTS WHICH IS NOT ATTRIBUTED AND HAS BEEN SPECIFICALLY MODIFIED TO GIVE TO THE GOG, IF REQUESTED. WE RECOMMEND THAT AMBASSADOR PRESENT SUBSTANCE OF UNCLASSIFIED VERSIONS TO GOG IN FOLLOWING MANNER.

2. AMBASSADOR SHOULD SEEK APPOINTMENT WITH MOUSSA DIAKITE OR HIGHEST APPROPRIATE OFFICIAL. HE MAY SAY IN SEEKING THIS APPOINTMENT THAT HE NOW HAS THE RESULTS OF THE US GOVERNMENT'S EXAMINATION OF THE GUINEAN SECURITY SITUATION WHICH HE WOULD LIKE TO CONVEY TO THE GOG. FOR ORAL PRESENTATION HE SHOULD DRAW ON THE REPORT SENT IN STATE 259640 AND 260185 ENTITLED U.S. AFRICAN SPECIALIST'S ASSESSMENT OF EXTERNAL THREATS TO GUINEA. THIS REPORT HAS BEEN TRANSLATED INTO FRENCH TO FACILITATE PRESENTATION BUT NEITHER THE FRENCH NOR ENGLISH VERSION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE GUINEANS OR REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES. IF THE GUINEANS INSIST ON A WRITTEN STATEMENT, AMBASSADOR MAY HAND OVER TO THEM THE FRENCH TRANSLATION OF THE REPORT SENT IN STATE 269614 ENTITLED ASSESSMENT OF EXTERNAL THREAT TO GUINEA. HE MAY ORALLY ATTRIBUTE IT TO U.S. AFRICAN SPECIALISTS. HE SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT, IN ANY CASE WE ARE TAKING GUINEA INTO OUR CONFIDENCE AND THAT THE WRITTEN DOCUMENT, IF GIVEN, AND THE CONTENTS OF THE CONVERSATION SHOULD BE CLOSELY HELD.

3. THE AMBASSADOR SHOULD EMPHASIZE THE MAIN CONCLUSION OF THE REPORT WHICH IS THAT GUINEA DOES NOT FACE A CREDIBLE THREAT EITHER FROM ITS NEIGHBORS, OR FROM THE SEVERAL GUINEAN EXILE GROUPS OPPOSED TO THE CONTINUATION OF SEKOU TOURE'S GOVERNMENT.

4. THE AMBASSADOR SHOULD ALSO TAKE THE OCCASION TO EMPHASIZE THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE REPORT HAVE BEEN BORNE OUT BY OUR DISCUSSIONS OF THE SITUATION WITH SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF MOST GUINEA'S NEIGHBORS. (FYI THESE REPORTS DID NOT REPEAT NOT INCLUDE ABIDJAN, , PARIS AND BONN AS SUGGESTED PARA 5 OF CONAKRY 2189.) SHOULD GOG RAISE THE ISSUE OF RETURN OF GUINEAN EXILES BY THE IVORY COAST AND SENEGAL, AMBASSADOR SHOULD NOTE THAT THIS CONFIDENTIAL

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IS AN ISSUE BETWEEN THE GOG AND THE GOVERNMENT CONCERNED. AMBASSADOR MAY NOTE EXILES' EXTREMELY LIMITED POTENTIAL TO THREATEN GOG. HE MAY ALSO NOTE THAT THEIR RETURN WOULD RAISE SOME QUESTIONS UNDER UN CONVENTION RELATING TO THE STATUS OF REFUGEES TO WHICH GUINEA AND NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES ARE SIGNATORIES. ARTICLE 33 OF THE CONVENTION STATES THAT "NO CONTRACTING STATE SHALL EXPEL OR RETURN "REFOULER") A REFUGEE IN ANY MANNER WHATSOEVER TO THE

FRONTIERS OF TERRITORIES WHERE HIS LIFE OR FREEDOM WOULD BE THREATENED ON ACCOUNT OF HIS RACE, RELIGION, NATIONALITY, MEMBERSHIP OF A PARTICULAR SOCIAL GROUP OR POLITICAL OPINION."

5. DEPARTMENT NOTES THAT GOG REMAINS SENSITIVE ON PL-480 AS INDICATED IN PARA 2 OF CONAKRY 2189, BUT THAT AMBASSADOR BELIEVES (PARA 7) THAT PL-480 SHOULD NOT BE RAISED BY US IN CONNECTION WITH DISCUSSION OF GUINEAN SECURITY. IF THE POINT IS RAISED, AMBASSADOR MAY STATE THAT WE CONTINUED OUR EXAMINATION OF THE GUINEAN SECURITY PROBLEM, AND OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH OFFICIALS OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS, DESPITE OUR DISPLEASURE THAT THE GUINEAN GOVERNMENT ALLOWED RUSSIAN TU-95 FLIGHTS TO RESUME LESS THAN 24 HOURS AFTER THE SIGNATURE OF A PL-480 AGREEMENT IN CONAKRY. OUR DISPLEASURE STEMS FROM THE FACT THAT, ALTHOUGH THE GUINEAN GOVERNMENT HAD CONTROL OVER THE TIMING OF THE SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENT AND THE RESUMPTION OF THE FLIGHTS, IT ALLOWED THE EVENTS TO COINCIDE IN SUCH A WAY THAT WE DREW THE INEVITABLE CONCLUSION THAT GUINEA WAS NOT INTERESTED IN DEVELOPING THE KIND OF RELATIONSHIP WE HAD ENVISAGED. OUR DECISION TO SUSPEND FURTHER ACTION ON THE PL-480 AGREEMENT WAS BY NO MEANS AN EFFORT QUOTE TO BLACKMAIL UNQUOTE THE GUINEAN GOVERNMENT. WE REMAIN READY TO DISCUSS A LIFTING OF THIS SUSPENSION BUT WE BELIEVE IT IS IN OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS TO DO SO WITH A VERY CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE US-GUINEAN RELATIONS. IF THE GOG MAKES ANY SUGGESTIONS REGARDING PL-480, THE AMBASSADOR MAY SAY THAT HE WILL REPORT THEM TO THE DEPARTMENT.

6. WE UNDERSTAND FROM THE GUINEAN GOVERNMENT THAT ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL FACTORS AFFECTING OUR RELATIONSHIP IS THE CONFIDENTIAL

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GOG'S DESIRE FOR A SECURITY GUARANTEE. WE ARE NOT CLEAR WHAT THEY HAVE IN MIND, ESPECIALLY SINCE OUR EXAMINATION OF THEIR SECURITY LEADS US TO BELIEVE THAT THERE IS NO SIGNIFICANT EXTERNAL SECURITY THREAT. DEPARTMENT UNDERSTANDS FROM PARA 6 OF CONAKRY 2189 AND CONAKRY 2065 THAT THE GOG FEELS THAT A SIMPLE DECLARATION OF U.S. INTEREST IN GUINEA'S SECURITY, BROADCAST BY THE VOA, WOULD MEET ITS REQUIREMENTS. AMBASSADOR SHOULD CLARIFY THIS POINT WITH THE GOG. YOU SHOULD KEEP IN MIND, HOWEVER, THAT WE CANNOT PUBLICLY DISCUSS OUR CONTACTS IN CONFIDENCE WITH GUINEA'S NEIGHBORS. WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER CONVEYING A MESSAGE TO GOG ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEFEAT OF THE NOVEMBER 22, 1970 INVASION WHICH WOULD REAFFIRM OUR PREVIOUS STATEMENTS SUPPORTING THE MAINTENANCE OF THE TERRI-

TORIAL INTEGRITY OF AFRICAN STATES. SUCH A MESSAGE COULD  
BE BROADCAST OVER THE VOA IN THE SAME WAY THAT MANY PUBLIC  
STATEMENTS ARE BROADCAST. IN RETURN WE WOULD HOPE THAT  
GUINEA WOULD REAFFIRM ITS STATED INTENTION TO DENY FURTHER  
SOVIET APPLICATIONS TO LAND TU-95 AIRCRAFT IN CONAKRY.

7. UNLESS YOU HAVE FURTHER COMMENT YOU MAY PROCEED ON  
ABOVE.

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## Message Attributes

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